

Public Issues and Adult Education^{1 2}

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Introduction

In a previous chapter (p) attention was drawn to the fact that at certain historical moments adult and community education has been closely linked with a range of social and political movements. The rise of modern movements of adult and community education in the 19th and early 20th Centuries took place in part as a consequence of attempts by disenfranchised and exploited groups to mobilise politically, economically and culturally. Popular education which sought to provide 'really useful knowledge'(See Johnson, R. 1988) was promoted and/or provided by a wide range of groups, organisations and individuals. The question may be asked whether these traditions of movement-based education are still alive to-day, and if so, what forms they may take.

This chapter seeks to address these questions. It is intended to throw some light on trends in movement-based education in Christchurch between 1983 and 1991. More specifically, it examines trends and patterns in the development of programmes of adult and community education focused on public issues, and documents some of the ideological struggles as the New Right sought to gain acceptance for its programme and implement its policies. Programmes addressing economic policy issues, social policy issues, health issues, gender issues, issues of peace and violence, and issues concerned with the Treaty of Waitangi, biculturalism and racism are discussed.

It is based mainly on data gathered for a research project - the Christchurch Adult Education Curriculum Project - which will be reported on more fully in a series of monographs to be published in 1995 & 1996. It should therefore be seen as a report on work in progress. The data gathering and checking process is not yet complete, and the findings are therefore tentative. Nevertheless it does provide a picture of some of the major trends in issue-oriented adult and community education in Christchurch between 1983 and 1991.

Background

Ever since the election of the fourth Labour Government in mid-1984 New Right ideologies have dominated the development of economic and social policies by successive Labour and National governments (See for example Holland, M. and Boston, J. (Eds), 1990; Boston, J. and Dalziel, P. (Eds), 1992; Kelsey, J. 1993; and Rice, G.W. (Ed), 1992). This has resulted in the break up of the Welfare State compromise (See Law, M. 1992) which had been in existence over the previous 50 years. New Right ideologues draw their strength from several sources. They occupy positions of

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power in business, in government, and in key state bureaucracies such as Treasury. In addition, at an ideological level they have been able to re-interpret the arguments and policy initiatives taken to support the interests of multi-national capital in ways which make it appear that these interests are the same as, or at least are consistent with, the interests of ordinary working people(See Douglas, Roger, 1993).

Despite this undoubted strength, New Right ideologues have not had things all their own way. At a political level alliances and some compromises have had to be made, especially with conservatives who have historically also opposed the welfare state, not least because of its perceived secularising tendencies and because they argue that it reduces the sphere of personal moral responsibility. Such alliances and compromises have also been made with some Maori interest groups as well as groups within the feminist movement. In both cases the common ground lay in the failure of the welfare state over the past fifty years to address gross inequities. This was combined with a belief that, with appropriate targeting of assistance to the least advantaged groups in society, the 'free market' would be more responsive to the needs of these groups and would deliver services more equitably than the state could ever do.

Of course it has not been possible for the New Right to develop alliances with all interest groups. Forthright opposition and resistance has come from various sources including the social democrats, socialists, feminists and the Maori community. These groups have been at least as critical as their opponents of the failure of the welfare state to address gross inequities. However they have rejected utterly the notion that problems of inequity are likely to be solved more effectively within the context of a 'free market'. Instead they have argued that these inequities can only be understood within the context of a wider historical and contemporary analysis of the nature and politics of race, gender and class, and that they can only be addressed by means of collective cultural, social, political and economic action.

In a report on Trade Union and Workers' Education in 1987, a task force appointed by the Ministers of Education and Labour undertook a critique of the field of adult education. It suggested that, although the range of activity that constitutes adult education is impressive, 'the cultural and educational aspirations of working people have been poorly attended to... Social equity in adult education is not simply about access, participation and outcomes. It is also about defining the knowledge base, setting the goals and planning the learning process. In this sense it is about power (and) the relationship between citizens and a state funded educational service... Historically there has been continuing tension between workers' self education, which is often linked with causes and campaigns and rooted in the pressing demands of everyday life, and those forms of education which are provided for working people by state funded educational institutions'(Law, Michael, 1987: 63-4).

² Draft of chapter in Benseman, J., Findsen, B. & Scott, M. (Eds) *The Fourth Sector: Adult and Community Education in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press: 347-362.

The report suggested that the predominant focus of mainstream, traditional adult education is on the provision of leisure-oriented programmes which in mode and content appeal most to middle income, suburban, pakeha New Zealand. It identified three significant trends in adult education: Firstly, it maintained that there is an increasing emphasis on narrow vocational education. Much tertiary education currently seeks to satisfy this demand, which, within a context of high unemployment, tends to be driven by the short-term requirements of the labour market; Secondly, it suggested that there is an emergence of adult education "welfarism" - a mix of social work and the development of coping skills, coupled with a tendency to define social and economic issues such as unemployment as educational problems; The third trend, it argued, is a reaction to the former two, and consists of a resurgence of collective self-education generally taking place within the context of social movements and independently of educational institutions. Within the context of this third trend however, the report did not discount the role of educational institutions, but rather suggested that the interaction between social movements and educational institutions can be highly productive (Law, Michael, 1987: 64-5).

Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to examine some aspects of this movement-based education. More specifically, it is intended to illuminate recent trends in public issues programmes of adult and community education and to document some of the ideological struggles as the New Right has sought to gain acceptance for its programme and implement its policies. Thus, the chapter addresses the following kinds of questions. What trends and patterns of public issues programmes emerged during this period of very rapid and fundamental change? What kinds of issues predominated? And what movements and groups were active in organising these programmes?

Public issues programmes have been defined as programmes which are intended primarily to promote, inform, analyse, critique, challenge, or raise public consciousness about any social, economic, cultural or political policies or issues of public concern. For purposes of analysis the issues addressed by programmes have been classified into the following groupings: social policy; health and disabilities; economics, employment and trade unions; gender; peace and violence; bi-culturalism and racism; the environment; education; the media; party politics; local & regional issues; & international issues. In many cases programmes could be located clearly and unambiguously in one of these groupings. In many more cases however the issues addressed were relevant to more than one of these groupings (eg Maori employment and women's health). In these cases programmes were classified into two or more of the above groupings.

'Programmes' have been defined very broadly to include courses, classes, workshops, seminars, hui, conferences, summer schools, field trips, study-tours, discussion, study & support groups, distance learning opportunities, one-to-one tuition, talks, lectures, symposia, forums, and public meetings & gatherings to protest or advocate change. Thus the programmes discussed include a wide range of activities from single public lectures or protest gatherings to full-time, one-year courses.

Despite this breadth of scope we were not able to cover all aspects of movement-based education, or indeed all forms of education about public issues within educational institutions. Much of this education takes place away from the attention of the mass media, in small groups, in classrooms and at meetings that are not reported in the newspapers. Our focus was on those activities which were open to the public and our primary source of information was 'The (Christchurch) Press'. A systematic search was undertaken of every issue of this newspaper published in the following years: 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989 and 1991. Our aim was to identify every programme that fitted our definition and that was referred to in any of the columns of the newspaper. In addition further interviews with organisers are being undertaken where necessary in order to obtain additional information.

For the purpose of this chapter we will be looking at programmes organised by the following kinds of organisations: (1) public educational institutions, including schools, polytechnics, colleges of education and universities; (2) voluntary organisations and groups with adult education as a primary function, including the WEA and several other special interest adult and community education groups; (3) other voluntary organisations, community groups and individuals; and (4) state organisations and local authorities.

General trends and patterns

In the first place our data suggest that the task force on trade union and worker education was correct in arguing that there was a resurgence in movement-based education. The overall number of public issues programmes increased substantially over the period, from 269 in 1983 to 525 in 1991. The pattern of growth was, however, not uniform over the period. In the mid-1980s growth was slow, so that by 1987 297 programmes were organised - an annual growth rate of nearly 2.6% over the four-year period. From then on the rate of growth accelerated, with 390 programmes being identified in 1989 and 525 in 1991, giving an annual growth rate of 19.2%.

This picture of a resurgence in movement-based education is reinforced when one looks at the increase in the number of programmes organised by voluntary organisations and community groups, especially in the latter part of the period. Between 1983 and 1987 the number of these programmes grew from 197 to 221 - a relatively small increase especially in view of the fact that 1987 was an election year. By 1991, however, the number of these programmes organised by voluntary organisations and community groups had increased to 382.

There was also a substantial increase in the number of public issues programmes organised by educational institutions and by state and local authority organisations between 1987 and 1991. In general, it would appear that the momentum of debate and protest over the changes in economic and social policy grew very slowly in the mid-1980s and then with increasing rapidity in the late-1980s and early 1990s as the impact of these policies on every aspect of the social fabric became clearer.

Issues

What kinds of issues were discussed and debated over the period? What forms did the ideological struggles take? It is clear that these struggles can only be understood within the context of the real economic, social, cultural and political changes taking place. Unfortunately within the space of this chapter it will not be possible to describe and analyse these changes. Nevertheless, where necessary, brief references will be made to key events and trends that had a direct impact on the ideological struggles.

When one looks at the overall picture, it appears that programmes dealing with social policy issues (342 programmes), issues of health and disability (341 programmes), and economic, employment and trade union issues (335 programmes) were the most common. These were followed by programmes dealing with gender issues (297 programmes), peace and violence (162 programmes) and biculturalism and racism (148 programmes). Other kinds of issues were also debated. These included environmental issues, education, the media, party political issues, local & regional issues, and international issues. In addition a number of programmes dealt with general issues or current affairs that could not readily be classified. However considerably fewer programmes were organised in each of these areas and we shall therefore limit our discussion in this chapter to the major areas.

Economic, employment and trade union issues

Between 1983 and 1987 there was a consistent falling away in the number of programmes dealing with economic issues. By way of contrast between 1987 and 1991 there was a very sharp and dramatic increase. Although some of this increase can be attributed to a small growth in the number of programmes offered by educational institutions and by state and local authority organisations, the major increase was in programmes organised by voluntary organisations and community groups. In very broad terms, over the entire period there was a shift in emphasis from issues dealing with narrower sectoral interests and industrial relations to those addressing broader trade union and poverty matters, and the political economy and economic policy directions in general.

Economically 1983 was a bad year for New Zealand. The economy was contracting; the number of unemployed was increasing rapidly to a total of 80,000, or 5.4% of the paid workforce; the balance of payments deficit was continuing to grow; and there was evidence that the gap between rich and poor was also growing. One measure that had been taken by the state in June 1982 in the hope of countering the runaway inflation of over 16% per annum was the institution of a 'wage-price freeze'. This remained in operation throughout 1983.

Not surprisingly therefore the year was characterised by a large number of programmes addressing issues of employment and unemployment. These ranged from meetings to look at job promotion and worker co-operatives to meetings to form a local branch of the unemployed workers union. Given the increasing unpopularity of the policies of the Muldoon government it is not surprising perhaps that there were also a number of programmes which examined economic policy directions. Programmes

also focused on trade union and/or industrial relations issues as well as issues affecting particular agricultural, industrial or services sectors of the economy.

When the fourth Labour government was elected to office in mid-1984 it was widely believed that the economy was in crisis. The incoming government took a number of immediate steps including a 20% devaluation of the New Zealand dollar and a short-term price freeze to stabilise the situation. However it did little to dispel the sense of crisis which provided the political climate within which it was possible for the neo-classical economists in Treasury and in government to take a number of initiatives during 1985 which transformed the political economy. These measures included the floating of the New Zealand dollar, the lifting of foreign exchange controls, the abolition of limits on foreign ownership of financial institutions, the removal or reduction of export subsidies and import tariffs, duties and restrictions, the broadening of the tax base with the introduction of GST, the reduction of marginal tax rates, and the reduction in the scope of the provision of a wide range of state services and of state expenditure on the provision of these goods and services.

Whether or not the negative evaluation and sense of economic crisis was warranted must remain a matter for debate. What is clear is that the immediate measures taken do seem to have been successful in stabilising the situation. 1985 saw a growth of 5% in real Gross Domestic Product and a fall to 4.7% in the rate of unemployment.

Perhaps reflecting this more positive economic climate, 1985 saw a lower overall number of programmes in this area. In particular, the number of programmes addressing issues of employment and unemployment fell by a third and there were fewer programmes dealing with economic policy directions. Not surprisingly however in view of the changes being made in the tax structure, the number of programmes dealing with taxation issues and especially with GST rose substantially to their highest level over the entire period. With the establishment of a Ministry of Consumer Affairs several programmes were identified dealing with consumer issues. The number of programmes focused on trade union and/or industrial relations issues and on issues affecting particular agricultural, industrial or services sectors of the economy remained about the same as in 1983.

If 1985 provided some evidence of increased economic stability and growth arising in part out of the short-term measures taken by government in 1984, it would seem that the medium-term outcomes of the measures adopted by the New Right ideologues from early 1985 were by no means as successful. By 1987 the growth in real GDP had dropped to 2.5% - half the rate of growth in 1985 - and this rate continued to fall to -1.4% in 1989 and -1.8% in 1991. In addition, the rate of unemployment had increased again to 5.2% in 1987 and then to 9.0% in 1989 and 10.2% in 1991.

In view of this, and especially since 1987 was an election year, it is surprising to find that the number of programmes addressing economic issues was at such a low ebb - only 30 programmes were identified, compared with 53 in 1983. During the latter part of the year, however, following the re-election of the Labour government with a very much reduced majority, there was some increase in activity. This was led by such groups as the WEA, the Women's Economic Awareness Group, the

Kitchen Table and the Otautahi Women's Labour Pool. Nevertheless over the entire year fewer programmes addressing economic issues were organised than in either of the previous years. Moreover, educational institutions and state & local authority organisations offered very little.

By 1989 a significant change had taken place. The number of programmes focusing on economic, employment and trade union issues had increased to 79 - more than double the 1987 figure. This included an increased involvement by educational institutions, as well as in the number of programmes organised by state and local authority organisations. These latter programmes addressed such issues as tourism, exporting, innovations in business, and women's unpaid work. The biggest increase in 1989, however, was in the number of programmes organised by voluntary organisations, community groups and individuals. They organised a total of 51 programmes - more than double the 1987 figure. The dominant themes of the programmes were those of employment and unemployment as well as wider issues of economic policy. There was also an increase in programmes dealing with trade union and industrial relations issues.

In November 1990 the National government was elected to office and in December it introduced a package of measures cutting benefits significantly and extending the stand-down period for the unemployment benefit to six months. This was followed in May 1991 by the enactment of the Employment Contracts Act a measure designed to increase 'labour market flexibility', to do away with national negotiations and awards on wages and conditions of employment, and to encourage work-based negotiations and agreements and individual employment contracts. In a situation of high unemployment it constituted a direct attack on the trade union movement since under the Act trade unions had no greater rights than any other agent. In particular it threatened the wages and conditions of service of the least powerful and lowest paid segments of the labour market. Then in July 1991 the Budget sought to introduce a wide range of further cost-cutting measures and measures designed to reduce the size of the welfare state.

Not surprisingly in light of this, the number of programmes focusing on economic, employment and trade union issues increased dramatically to a total of 127. The number of programmes provided by educational institutions fell away to eight, and state and local authority organisations organised only six programmes - very small contributions at a time of rapid change. Much of the increase consisted of protest meetings and gatherings called to discuss, debate and/or protest against the benefit cuts, the Employment Contracts Act, the budget cuts to education, the announcement of further radical changes to the health system and the surcharge on superannuation.

Voluntary organisations and community groups active in organising programmes included the WEA, the Kitchen Table, the Council of Trade Unions, a number of individual trade unions, the Public Service Association, the Christchurch Unemployed Rights Centre, the National Council of Churches, the Conference of Churches in Aotearoa, the Women's Refuge movement, the Christian Family Movement Solo Parents' Support Group, the National Superannuitants' Federation, Grey Power and Age Concern. Overall, the focus of the majority of programmes was on broad issues of economic

policy as these were manifested in the key measures taken by government. These of course related to concerns about the survival of the trade union movement and for the first time a number of programmes focused on issues of poverty in Aotearoa.

Issues concerned with social policy and the social services

Between 1983 and 1989 the increase in programmes focusing on various issues of social policy was small and fluctuating. In 1983 43 programmes were organised. This increased to 66 in 1985, followed by a slight decrease to 59 in 1987 and then an increase again in 1989 to 75. Between 1989 and 1991 however the increase was substantial, with the total rising to 99 programmes in 1991. The number of programmes addressing issues of social policy organised by educational institutions and by state organisations and local authorities remained more or less constant. The growth can therefore be attributed entirely to the increased activity by voluntary organisations and community groups. What kinds of issues were addressed in these programmes? And how do we account for or explain the increase in activity?

In 1983 a number of programmes dealt with issues concerning children, young people and the family, and sexual abuse, domestic violence and rape legislation. In addition the 1st National Disabled Person's Assembly was held in Hamilton in May. In 1985 programmes focused on such issues as smoking, alcohol, drugs and solvent abuse, AIDS counselling, pornography, housing, homosexual law reform, abortion, and rural stress.

In 1987 programmes continued to focus on a number of similar issues to those identified in 1983 and 1985. However there were also programmes focusing on adoption changes organised by the National Organisation for Women, homelessness organised by the YWCA and Christchurch Shelter for All, and on the funding crisis facing voluntary groups organised by the District Council of Social Services and the Methodist Central Mission.

Programmes organised in 1989 focused on many similar issues to those in previous years. These included substance abuse, housing, children and young people and the family. However programmes of resistance to the application of New Right ideologies to social policy began to emerge. These included protest action against the erosion of benefits organised by the Christchurch Unemployed Rights Collective, a public meeting to oppose the privatisation of public assets organised by the Public Service Association, a seminar on 'Building base communities' organised by the Anglican Social Responsibility Commission, and a discussion on recent social policy changes organised by Presbyterian Support Services.

As in previous years programmes organised in 1991 addressed a very wide range of issues. However the number of programmes of resistance to the application of New Right ideologies to social policy increased substantially. At least twenty of the programmes organised by voluntary organisations and groups consisted of public meetings, marches, demonstrations and other gatherings opposing the benefit cuts and the Employment Contracts Act or engaging in a critique of policies. Towards the end

of the year meetings were held to set up a People's Select Committee on Welfare Benefit Cuts which was to gather data and seek submissions in 1992.

Issues concerned with Health and Disability

Between 1983 and 1987 there was little change in the number of programmes focusing on health and disability issues. In 1983 45 programmes were identified. Between 1987 and 1989 the total number of programmes jumped dramatically from 51 to 91, and then rose again in 1991 to a total of 108. This increase can be attributed primarily to the increase in activity by voluntary organisations, community groups and individuals. In 1983 37 programmes were organised by these groups; by 1991 this had grown to 88! What kinds of issues were addressed in these programmes? And how do we account for or explain the increase in activity in the latter part of the period?

Each year programmes focused on a wide range of health issues. In 1983 a number addressed the concerns faced by people with various disabilities. They included a course on 'Sociological aspects of disability' offered by the Centre for Continuing Education of the University of Canterbury and the NZ conference of the intellectually disabled. In 1985 there was an increase in the number of programmes focusing on solvent and alcohol abuse. These included two public forums organised by the Canterbury Community Council on Alcohol and other Drugs - 'Should alcohol be sold in supermarkets?' and 'Merry Christmas for Everyone?'. In addition, there was an increase in the number of support groups, such as ADARDS, Women for Sobriety and the Aids Support Network, which were formed to provide support and information, as well as to undertake political lobbying. Issues of solvent and alcohol abuse were addressed again in 1989, with several groups focusing exclusively on women with drug or alcohol problems.

The development of awareness weeks to raise public consciousness of health issues, was a noticeable trend throughout our period of study. In 1985 there was an increase in the number of these weeks, organised by such diverse groups as the Diabetes Society, NZ Home Birth Association, Canterbury Asthma Society, the Hearing Association and Raja Yoga Centre. By 1991 open meetings, health festivals and awareness weeks appeared to have become an established method of raising the level of public knowledge and understanding of particular health issues.

By 1989 the process of restructuring of the health system was gathering momentum. This process had been initiated by the Area Health Boards Act of 1983 which provided for the replacement of the 27 Hospital Boards by 14 Area Health Boards, responsible for public health, hospitals and some primary health care services. This was completed by 1989. In 1988 the report of the Taskforce on Hospitals and Related Services (Gibbs et al, 1988) was published. Few of the recommendations of this report, which was one of a number of reports that were driven by New Right libertarian ideologies, were implemented by the Labour Government. Nevertheless, under pressure from Treasury, 1989 and 1990 did see a number of changes which were consistent with the demands of the New Right. These included the restructuring of the Department of Health, changes in the management of Area Health Boards, the introduction of performance indicators and the contracting of services.

However none of these changes were as fundamental as those proposed in the 1991 budget policy statement on reforms.

The rapid increase in programmes addressing health and disabilities issues from 1989 can undoubtedly be attributed in large part to the activity of voluntary organisations and community groups in organising various kinds of public meetings and seminars to discuss and protest against the changes taking place in the health system. In 1989 the groups involved included the Canterbury Health Coalition, the Save Christchurch Women's Hospital Action Group and The Health Alternative for Women.

The number of programmes organised by state and local authority organisations also grew significantly. In 1983 only two such programmes were identified, whereas seven or eight programmes were organised each year in 1987, 1989 and 1991. Most of these were organised by the Canterbury Area Health Board as part of the process of public consultation on policy issues such as the proposed closure of hospitals, and priorities in health expenditure. In 1983, 1987 and 1991 the Canterbury Area Health Board also organised programmes addressing questions concerning the health care needs of an ageing NZ population.

On the other hand, the number of programmes offered by public educational institutions did not grow much over the period. These programmes fluctuated from a total of six in 1983 to one in 1987 to eight in both 1989 and 1991, and no trends could be identified in the kinds of issues dealt with. In 1983 the Christchurch Clinical School of Medicine organised programmes on health economics and the counselling of sexually abused women. In 1989 the Next Step Centre of the Christchurch Polytechnic offered a number of programmes addressing health issues specifically for women, and in 1991 the Christchurch Clinical School of Medicine held a public forum on the future of Canterbury's mental health services.

Gender Issues

Programmes focusing on gender issues in the period 1983 to 1991 could be summarised by the title of a seminar conducted by Soroptimist International in 1983 - 'Awakening Women'. This represented a continuation of the work of the modern feminist movement which had arisen in the late-1960s and early 1970s. A number of initiatives had been taken both internationally and nationally in the 1970s. Internationally, in 1975 the UN had launched the Decade for Women. However by 1983, in spite of the continuing activism of a range of women's groups, initiatives promoting gender equity in Aotearoa had stalled under the weight of a conservative government.

In 1983 48 programmes focusing on gender issues were organised. This increased to 55 in 1985 and then fell back to 48 in 1987. By 1989 there was a dramatic increase to 86 programmes, and then in 1991 the number of programmes fell back again to a total of 60.

The vast majority of programmes organised throughout the period focused on issues concerning the economic, political or social condition or position of women in Aotearoa. The WEA, Kitchen Table

and Christchurch Polytechnic were some of the more active groups in this area. Many of these programmes were intended to inform and raise the awareness of women on issues that affected them. An increasing number also provided opportunities for men to examine critically their roles in maintaining male dominance, with a view to working for change. Examples of these programmes were the courses on 'The Male System' which were offered throughout the period. In addition, between 1983 and 1991 there was an increase in the number of programmes focused on gay and lesbian issues. Acknowledgment that women were becoming an economic force was particularly obvious in the later years with more programmes offered specifically for women on investment opportunities, retirement, etc.

'Women at Risk' was the title of a seminar by the North Canterbury Women's Fellowship and highlighted a significant issue debated by voluntary organisations and community groups in 1983. The YWCA Women's Watch Scheme was established, and several public meetings around Christchurch set up women's neighbourhood protection groups. Women's education and employment was the theme of several programmes, while Christchurch Polytechnic organised two courses entitled 'Women in Politics'.

In 1985 various groups celebrated the end of the Decade for Women with dinners, festivals and an arts and crafts exhibition. Christchurch Teachers' College conducted a one-week programme for their trainees on non-sexist teaching and the National Organisation for Women held a public workshop on pornography - an issue which was echoed by several other programmes during the year.

Programmes focusing specifically on the needs of Maori women were recorded for the first time in 1987. The effects of the government's economic policies on women was the theme of several programmes organised by voluntary organisations and community groups, including 'Women and Rogernomics' at the WEA and a talk on Women's Economics organised by the Kitchen Table, querying whether the family benefit should be means tested. 1987 was the International Year of Shelter, which was reflected in some programmes initiated by voluntary groups targeting homelessness among women.

In 1989 an increase in programmes offered by public educational institutions brought their total to 19. The Ministry of Women's Affairs, established in November 1984, organised three programmes including a meeting with Dr Judith Aitken for the women of Christchurch, a series of workshops on women's unpaid work and the Putea Pounamu Training Hui for Maori women organised by the Maori Secretariat of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Voluntary organisations and community groups provided a total of 61 programmes during 1989, with issues such as women's health and feminism highlighted by more than one organisation.

By 1991 the number of programmes dealing with gender issues had dropped back to a total of 60. Planning began for the centenary of women's suffrage in 1993 and the Christchurch Housing for Women Trust held several meetings during the year on pooling resources to buy housing. Violence

and sexual abuse was addressed by the Rape Crisis and Incest Survivors Support Collective as well as the He Mana O Te Repo (Collective of Maori Men), which organised a Stopping Violence course.

Issues of Peace and Violence.

A total of 161 programmes dealing with issues of peace and violence were recorded during the period of study. 86% of these were organised by voluntary organisations and community groups such as the WEA, the Christchurch Peace Forum and Amnesty International. The University of Canterbury was the main provider of programmes among educational institutions, focusing on overseas unrest as well as social conflict in NZ. The prevention of violence of all types in NZ was a major theme addressed by the police and Department of Social Welfare, while world peace was a consideration for other state and local authority organisations.

The number of programmes addressing issues of peace and violence fluctuated widely year by year. In 1983 31 programmes were identified. This fell to 25 in 1985, rose to 29 in 1987, and then fell to 19 in 1989. In 1991 the number of such programmes rose dramatically again to a total of 57. The kinds of issues addressed also varied widely.

In both 1983 and 1985 nuclear disarmament was the predominant issue. It was the focus of a number of programmes organised by the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee and other voluntary organisations and community groups, and included protests against nuclear powered and/or armed ships, and lobbying for New Zealand to become a Nuclear Free Zone. 14 of the 26 programmes in 1983 involved the nuclear issue.

1985 was a tumultuous year in foreign policy. In February the government made the decision to ban all nuclear armed or propelled ships from New Zealand ports. In July the Greenpeace ship *The Rainbow Warrior* was sunk. In August the Treaty of Rarotonga was signed declaring the South Pacific a nuclear weapon-free zone, and in December the government introduced its anti-nuclear legislation into parliament and published its Green Paper on *The Defence Question*. These events, which brought New Zealand's participation in ANZUS virtually to an end, generated and were the product of considerable debate and discussion.

Although disarmament and anti-nuclear issues continued to be debated in the later years of the study, by 1987 the number of programmes focused on these issues had declined somewhat. Attention came to be turned more fully on issues of violence at home in Aotearoa. These were not new issues. A variety of programmes had been organised in both 1983 and 1985. For example, in 1985 the issue of gang violence was addressed at a meeting between Maori elders and the police, which was followed by a summit conference on Maori gangs, and women took a stand against violence at home and abroad, with such events as a peace rally on International Women's Day.

With the publication of the Roper Report on Violence (Roper, C, 1987) there was a significant increase in programmes on violence and its causes in 1987. One third of the programmes organised that year focused on the Roper Report and its wide-ranging recommendations. A significant increase

was also evident from 1987 in the number of support groups such as Men's Non-violent Network, Mensline and STOP (a group to help stop men sexually abuse), and in anger management courses for both men and women. A number of other programmes focusing on issues of domestic violence were also held, including a march organised by various women's groups to 'reclaim the night'.

The number of programmes focusing on issues of peace and violence fell away in 1989, perhaps because of the pre-occupation of many groups with other issues. Nevertheless the 14 hour peace video 'The Journey' was shown at several venues.

Concern for peace beyond New Zealand's shores was a recurring theme from 1983 to 1991. The beginning of 1991 saw the outbreak of war in the Persian Gulf. The decision by the recently elected National Government to enter the war generated a great deal of debate. An overall increase in programmes of almost 200% occurred in 1991, a significant number of these focusing on the Gulf War. Almost exclusively these programmes were offered by voluntary organisations and community groups - the WEA held a Gulf Crisis 'teach-in', the Gulf Crisis Peace Committee initiated several protests, and a daily meditation and prayer service was held at the Christchurch Cathedral. The involvement of religious groups in organising programmes for peace was noticeable, especially during the Gulf Crisis.

Issues concerned with the Treaty of Waitangi, Bi-culturalism and Racism

During a momentous period in the history of relationships between the Crown and Maori it is perhaps surprising that so (relatively) few programmes focusing on the Treaty of Waitangi were organised in Christchurch. Between 1983 and 1991 a total of 148 programmes addressing issues associated with the Treaty of Waitangi, bi-culturalism and racism were identified. In both 1985 and 1989 the number of programmes peaked at 33. Sporting contact with South Africa was the predominant issue in 1985, while in 1989 a number of programmes involving many groups focused on preparations for the 1990 commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In addition, each year a limited number of programmes focused on Pacific Island issues.

In 1983 27 programmes addressing issues associated with the Treaty of Waitangi, bi-culturalism and racism were identified. No single issue was predominant. Several gatherings were held to oppose the celebration of Waitangi Day, the Maori Women's Welfare League organised a range of courses at Rehua Marae to develop traditional Maori skills, and meetings were held by other Maori groups to discuss issues associated with land, language and employment. Programmes also focused on bi-culturalism in education and health, and the Race Relations Conciliator addressed several meetings. Pacific Island issues provided the focus at annual conferences of Pacifica, a Polynesian Women's Organisation. Four programmes were offered by educational institutions. They included a public symposium examining issues of gender and race in secondary education organised by Hagley High School.

The predominant issue addressed in 1985 was the proposed All Black tour of South Africa. HART Aotearoa and the Coalition Against The Tour organised several protest gatherings, marches and

meetings; the Christchurch Ploughshares Christian Community fasted to show their opposition; and the Christchurch Cathedral held an ecumenical service and a public meeting. The only recorded event supporting the tour was organised by Bob Francis, Mayor of Masterton and international rugby referee, who led a pro-tour march. The anti-tour protests were successful in preventing an official All Black Tour, although an unofficial team, the Cavaliers, did tour South Africa in April 1986.

As in 1983 programmes addressed a wide range of other issues as well. Issues of racism were the focus of a number of national and local conferences and seminars. Hui looking at Maori employment, health and the electoral system were held at Rehua Marae and one was held at Nga Hau e Wha National Marae seeking to ease the tensions between gangs. In addition, Patients' Rights discussed 'How our health care system affects people from other cultures'. No programmes in this area were offered by local educational institutions in 1985.

In 1987 only 24 programmes addressing issues associated with the Treaty of Waitangi, bi-culturalism and racism were identified. They covered a similar range of issues to those addressed in previous years. The Waitangi Action & Learning Coalition and the WEA both organised several programmes raising treaty issues and seeking to raise public awareness of the treaty; the Maori Women's Welfare League held a hui on the social problems of Maori women; Women's Refuge organised a workshop on 'Oppression and Racism'; the National Party held a public forum on 'The Maori - fighting for justice or power?'; and bi-cultural and multi-cultural issues were addressed at a mental health hui held at Sunnyside Hospital.

In 1989 33 programmes were identified. Debating and planning for the 1990 commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi provided the focus for a significant number of programmes. Most local authorities set up planning committees, several of which held public meetings. The Canterbury Public Library and the WEA held a series of public forums on the Treaty of Waitangi, and the WEA also offered courses on 'Aotearoa/New Zealand - beyond 1990' and 'Native Americans and Maoris'. A number of secondary schools offered courses focused on the treaty for the first time. Project Waitangi courses were advertised at Aranui and Mairehau High Schools, 'Celebrating 1990' was organised by Hagley High School, and Papanui High School ran a programme on the Treaty of Waitangi. Several programmes were also organised by voluntary organisations and community groups. The Expose 1990 group organised a public forum to air concerns about the 1990 commemorations, and the Canterbury District Law Society held a series of lectures on the 'Treaty of Waitangi - legal problem or solution'.

Other meetings included a hui held at the Trade Union Centre on 'Aotearoa - Can it survive the system?', a meeting of Maori unemployed people held at Rehua Marae, and a forum organised by the Labour Party on Maori/Pakeha issues. Hui were organised by the Otautahi Runaka focused on its restructuring, the Ngai Tahu Whanui on 'Looking toward the future', and the Prisoners' Aid & Rehabilitation Society to look at meeting the needs of Maori caught in an offending cycle. In

addition, several meetings focused on the rights of indigenous people in such places as the Philippines and Nicaragua.

1991 saw a slight drop in the number of programmes - 31 were identified, compared with 33 in 1989. They covered a wide range of issues and included hui on health, social services, justice and Maori land, as well as a Day of Action, planned by Tino Rangatiratanga (Maori Education Authority) to protest the way government policies had failed Maori people. Other programmes included activities associated with Maori Language Week, a seminar organised by the WEA on 'Ngai/Kai Tahu Land Claims', and two courses on 'Biculturalism' offered by the Centre for Continuing Education of the University of Canterbury.

In addition, two fono were held to discuss problems experienced by Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand. At the Race Relations fono the Race Relations Conciliator advised that a united voice on Pacific Island affairs would be an advantage to all six Pacific Island nations in achieving progress on issues. Finally, a public forum on Maori and Pakeha attitudes to death, entitled 'Whose Body is it anyway?' was held at the Christchurch Cathedral, sparked by the disagreements over the funeral arrangements for Billy T. James.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter we pointed out that at certain historical moments adult and community education has been closely linked with a range of social and political movements. We also drew attention to the view that, in the face of powerful conservative forces affecting educational institutions and leading to the mushrooming of private education and training providers, the 1980s and early 1990s saw a resurgence of collective self-education generally taking place within the context of social movements and independently of educational institutions.

Our findings summarised in this chapter support this view. Issue-oriented movement-based adult and community education appears for the most part to have been at a relatively low ebb in Christchurch in the mid-1980s. The number of programmes focused on public issues ranged between 268 in 1983 and 297 in 1987. The measures taken by the Labour government between 1984 and 1988 to open the New Zealand economy to the forces of international capitalism appear to have been undertaken with little attempt being made to engage the public of Christchurch in any popular education programmes. Even the devastation wreaked upon many rural areas by the sudden withdrawal of agricultural subsidies, and the large-scale redundancies that followed the restructuring of a number of state departments and agencies, seem to have provoked few issue-oriented programmes in Christchurch. However, by the time that the policies driven by the New Right were beginning to have a significant impact on the lives of a larger number of people in the late-1980s and early 1990s the forces of popular resistance began to take shape and influence developments in movement-based adult education. The number of issue-oriented programmes rose to 390 in 1989 and then dramatically to 525 in 1991 following the election of the National government and the renewed assault on the welfare state.

This chapter has summarised some of the key trends and patterns in movement-based adult and community education. Some movements and groups appear to have been more successful and/or active in organising programmes at certain times. Thus, in 1983 various oppositional groups were active in organising educational programmes focusing on economic policy issues. In the mid-1980s, however, these groups were less active in organising public programmes, and it was only in the late-1980s and early-1990s that there was a re-grouping of oppositional forces and the establishment of a number of campaigns and programmes to debate and challenge the assumptions underlying economic policies. A similar pattern is also discernible when one looks at programmes focused on health and social policy issues. Here too it was only in the late-1980s and early-1990s that there was a resurgence of programmes focused on these issues.

When one looks at other areas, somewhat different patterns emerge. The peace movement appears to have been most active in organising educational programmes in 1983 (when nuclear disarmament was the predominant issue), and in 1991 (at the time of the Gulf War). On the other hand, more programmes addressing issues of racism and bi-culturalism were organised in 1985 (when sporting contacts with South Africa provided the key focus) and in 1989 (when the 1990 commemoration of the Treaty of Waitangi was the predominant issue) than in any other years. The high point in the organisation of programmes to raise public consciousness of gender inequities appears to have been reached in 1989, with a subsequent decrease in programmes in 1991. One interpretation of this is that, in the face of a conservative onslaught and economic pressures in the 1990s, the women's movement has been in retreat. Further research is however necessary to examine this thesis, as well as to examine in greater detail the economic, social, cultural and political changes and their impact on adult and community education.

In this chapter we have also documented the key role played by a very wide range of voluntary organisations and community groups in promoting discussion and debate on public issues, in responding critically to agendas developed by powerful public and private interests, and in keeping alive alternative philosophies and agendas. In particular we have noted the small but important contributions made by voluntary adult education organisations such as the WEA to issues-oriented adult and community education. The roles played by state organisations, local authorities and educational institutions were far more limited and ambiguous than those of voluntary organisations, and in a further article we will examine more closely the roles of the various organisations, and in particular the roles of schools, colleges and universities in this field.

We believe that too few adult and community educators - and too few educational institutions - take sufficiently seriously their roles in maintaining links with voluntary organisations, community groups and social movements and in raising public policy issues for discussion and debate. They all too readily acquiesce in responding to such issues and in performing ameliorative functions required of them by the state. As indicated above, we plan to examine this further in another publication. In the meantime if this chapter succeeds in documenting and raising questions about modern social movements and their links with adult and community education it will have served its purpose.

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